1;Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
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probably the strongest single factor operating to draw the eight villages together. The lands were thus influential in pre-Columbian times when all real property was held in common, usually not by the *pueblo* but by the subdivision of the *pueblo*, the *calpolli*.[1] Since the Reforma (1857) communal holdings have been generally reduced to individual tenure. This was probably early accomplished in Tepoztlán; pr[illegible] agricultural tracts are there the subject of entirely individual ownership and sale. Nevertheless the private lands are encircled by public lands in which all inhabitants of the eight villages share and which, with the *milpas*, constitute the local "fatherland."

There are thus both private and public lands in Tepoztlán. The private lands include:

1. *House sites* (*sitios*) *with their attendant agricultural plots* (*milpas*).—Characteristically each *sitio* has an appendant *milpa*, which may be located as much as a mile away from the *sitio;* but the two are usually taxed, and inherited together. These tracts are not infrequently sold, but most of them have been in the same family for many generations. Most of the produce supporting the community is raised on the *milpas*. There should also be mentioned the *corrales*, yards at the back of dwellings sometimes planted with corn or beans.

2. *Milpas de labor.*—These are agricultural lands reduced to private possession and tillage out of the

[1] The *calpolli* was perhaps originally a kinship unit; its limited survival in Tepoztlán will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

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fortunate in this respect. Tepoztlán is just above the malaria area, and although some malaria occurs it is generally contracted by Tepoztecans who have been working in the lowlands. The climate of Tepoztlán is one of the most healthful in the state of Morelos, and Tepoztlán has one of the lowest death rates in the state.

The average annual temperature for the village is about 65° F. However, there are marked daily and seasonal variations. In the rainy season mornings are usually humid and cool but by midday the temperature is up to 65°. The evenings are cool. During the months of November, December, and January the nights and early mornings are much colder, and the temperature drops to 35° to 40°. The cold works hardships on the people because of the lack of warm clothing. However, even during these months the temperature rises to 65° and 70° by midday. At no time does the temperature rise above 80°. While it gets hot in the open fields under the sun, it is generally comfortable in the village because of the many shade trees on almost every house site. The daily variations in temperature and humidity are partially responsible for the high frequency of rheumatic complaints and respiratory diseases.

The rainy season begins toward the end of May or early June and generally lasts to mid-October.[7] The average annual rainfall in the village is about 60 inches, most of which comes during the five months from June to October. In June and July the rains generally come in the afternoon and last for a few hours. During these months the working day in the fields ends at about 2:00 P.M. In August and September the rains generally begin later in the afternoon and frequently last through the night. However, there is much variation within this general pattern. Although droughts are not uncommon, excessive rainfall is the more common complaint. Sometimes Tepoztecans cannot cultivate their crops with plow and oxen because of the mud.

The crucial months for the corn crop are August and September when the ears of corn are filling out. The occasional lack of rain during these months is attributed by some of the older folks to the failure of the dancers, at the fiesta in honor of the deity El Tepozteco, to carry out correctly the traditional ceremonies. The coexistence of pagan and Catholic elements in beliefs concerning rain is shown by the fact that the saints of the central church, as well as those of the barrios, are taken in procession through the village to pray for rain when necessary. Hailstorms occur in the rainy season but they are generally brief. It is a common belief among Tepoztecans that the setting off of firecrackers or the shooting of guns will stop the hail.

The dry season begins in October or November and lasts for seven long months. The earth becomes parched and many of the semi-deciduous trees lose their leaves. Water must be hauled in greater quantities for the animals, the flowers, and the young trees on the house sites. Winds from the north cause small dust storms in the village and sometimes damage the ripening corn. Respiratory diseases are more frequent during this time of the year. Because of the dry season, only one crop a

[7] See Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 121, for description of the rains.

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year can be grown in Tepoztlán. Lack of water for irrigation is one of the most frequent complaints. Tepoztecans speak of the irrigated farming area of nearby Yautepec, where a few crops a year are grown, as an agricultural paradise.

A rich semi-tropical flora grows in the village. On almost any house site a great variety of plants and trees are found. The more common ones are *papaya*, coffee, *ciruela* (hog plum), *guaje*, *aguacate*, *chayote*, *mango*, banana, *maguey*, and some prickly pear. Most families grow a variety of flowers and herbs which are used for cooking and as medicines.

Like the municipio, the village of Tepoztlán is located on a slope (Fig. 8) and the resulting diversity of topography and climate noted for the municipio is also

Fig. 8. Tepoztlán lies on a steep incline.

characteristic of the village itself, except that the contrasts are less sharp. The upper part of the village is steeper, rockier, and somewhat cooler; the lower part is warmer and, being closer to the surrounding hills and better watered, has a richer flora and more abundant growth of *ciruela* and coffee trees. The incline runs from the northwest to the southeast, for the northern or upper part of the village is several hundred feet higher than the southern part.

The streets running north and south slope steeply. During the rainy season these streets are often converted into cascading streams which rush, knee-deep, downward toward the center. To avoid erosion many streets are stone-paved and terraced. The Aztec system of terracing by means of an ascending series of platforms and inclines is still conserved. (See Fig. 9.) However, many streets, particularly those in the outlying barrios, are neither paved nor terraced and are turned into slippery mud-holes or badly eroded gorges by the rains. Other streets are rough, boulder-strewn pathways which must be climbed rather than walked; still others are covered with weeds and scattered stones and resemble dried-out stream beds more than streets. (See Fig. 10.) The streets running east and west also tend to be hilly and irregular because of the streams, arroyos, and gorges which cut across the village. Only the paved road and the plaza in the center are on a more or less level plane.

The village is large, spread out, and roughly rectangular in shape. (See Fig. 11.) It is approximately two kilometers in length and one and one-half in width. Al-

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Fig. 9. Terrace street, Aztec style.

361 though the village contains 662 house sites, it does not have the compact or crowded appearance of some Mexican towns. For the most part, the houses are separated
• 351 from each other by gardens, patios, corrals, and sometimes milpas. These are enclosed by low-lying stone walls which do not block the view from the street and which permit overhanging trees to shade the street. Only a few houses in the center
[342] are built contiguously in Spanish style and are enclosed by high, concealing walls.

361 Tepoztlán has the traditional square plaza around which are grouped the more
[367] important public buildings. On one side of the plaza is the small public park, com-
[363] plete with bandstand, shade trees, benches, and brick walks. The paved road, which
[494] runs along the other side of the park, ends at this point, and here, too, is the last stop on the bus line.

[344] North of the park is the courthouse which houses the office of the president, secre-
[346] tary, and other local officials. A guard in soldier's uniform is frequently seen pacing
[347] up and down before the steps. The new school house was built next to the court-
[366] house and is now one of the important edifices of the center. Between these two buildings and the plaza itself is the Portales, a semi-enclosed street where most of the stores and permanent vending places are located. The street has a roof supported by columns and provides merchants and buyers protection from the sun and rain.

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114 423 [351 243 428] tween *sitios urbanos* (urban house sites) and *predios rústicos* (rural parcels), and they are listed separately in the property register. Furthermore, a Tepoztecan who owns only an urban house site is not considered a landowner. This, despite the fact that some *sitios* have sufficient land to plant a patch of corn. Traditionally, the house site milpas are used principally for fresh corn. In 1944, however, less than 20 per cent of all house sites were planted in corn, a lower figure no doubt than that prevailing in 1926; as the population is increasing, the house sites are getting smaller because they are usually divided up for purposes of inheritance.

Second, Redfield's statement concerning the "appendant milpa" may refer to an old pattern which has not existed in the village since long before the Revolution of 1910, and I could find only a vague tradition of it remembered by a few older informants. After some investigation of this point I could not find a single example of a house site in the village with an "appendant milpa." The inheritance pattern that prevails today and that, as far as I was able to determine, has prevailed for a long time would rule out the situation of each house site having an "appendant [428] milpa." It is common practice for the father to divide the inheritance, so that the house site goes to one child and the milpa to another.

It is possible that the conception of Tepoztecans as a landed peasantry was taken up from Redfield by Stuart Chase, who described Tepoztlán as a village with economic security. This is especially ironical in view of the fact that Tepoztlán [669] was in the heart of Zapata country and was one of the first villages in Morelos to join the Revolution which, in this region, was essentially a bitter struggle for the land.

It has become traditional among historians, economists, and sociologists, in writing on the history of the agrarian problem in Mexico, to distinguish between two fundamental types of social and economic organization: the so-called free village and the hacienda. The free village represents the older Indian form of organization, and the hacienda represents the Spanish form. Much of Mexican history has been described as a struggle between these two ways of life. One of the best statements on this situation is the following:

> The stage is set. On the one hand is the institution of private property, already present in its incipient forms in pre-Conquest days, but now, with the importation of the *encomienda*, the *peonía*, and *caballería*, fortified, strengthened, and ready to develop in stature and power until soon it stands full grown as the classic type of landed estate—the hacienda. On the other hand is the landholding, communal village rooted deep in age-old custom and tradition and now given life and legal support in the reorganized native pueblo and in the scores of new villages soon to be founded on the Indian model. From this point of view the history of Mexico is, in its most fundamental aspects the drama of the struggle between feudalism and the free village, between the individual private estate and the collective, communal holding-in fine, between the hacienda and the *ejido*. For almost four hundred years it is the hacienda which wins. The victories of the villages are only temporary triumphs; slowly but surely the *ejido* is pushed back and back until by the turn of the twentieth century only in the mountain fastness and in a

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Fig. 36. Adobe house, with separate kitchen.

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since it increases living space and may be used as kitchen, sleeping room, work room, and for storage. The porch usually consists of an extension of the house roof supported by columns of adobe brick. There may be a low wall connecting the columns, and the porch may be enclosed by Mexican bamboo.

One of the common characteristics of the *jacal* and adobe house in Tepoztlán is that they are detached type dwellings, generally built within a patio or yard and set off from the street by a low stone wall or terrace. This is especially true in the smaller barrios where there is more space.

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In sharp contrast with the *jacal* and adobe houses are the few but striking homes of former *caciques* or of wealthier families of the center barrios. (See Fig. 37.) These houses invariably show marked Spanish or modern urban influence, and several of them border on elegance. They are large and imposing, and surrounded by an outer wall, built flush with the street, in which glass-paned windows and small balconies of iron grillwork are set. The roofs are of tile and slope from the street side inward, so that the outer wall is higher than the inner one and makes the house appear tall. Sometimes a high stone or plastered wall shields the house from the street and opens into the patio by means of a massive wooden door, or *zaguán*. Other houses have more elegant exteriors of one or more arches and col-

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312 .511 and although this is the traditional and common practice, it is now considered a real hardship by more and more families. The quantity of water consumed by a family is usually determined by the amount of labor it can devote to water-carrying, and many families limit their use of water for bathing, for plants and animals, and for laundry. Use of the public laundry, generally considered undesirable, is made of necessity by many. The few families with water piped into their patios invariably have flourishing flower, fruit, and vegetable gardens. These families are very much envied, and not infrequently their water pipes are deliberately stuffed or damaged by less fortunate neighbors.

[296] [351] [578]

514 [485] [177] The benefits of toilets are not as generally recognized, and only one private home and the two tourist houses have toilets that can be flushed. The new schoolhouse, however, has toilets and showers, and the younger generation is becoming accustomed to their use. The schoolteachers, the students who have been away to boarding schools, and the not insignificant number of Tepoztecans who have spent time in Mexico City are also familiar with the use of toilets and will undoubtedly be among the first to install them in their dwellings in the future. Some already have constructed screens around their latrines in their yards or orchards to afford some privacy.

515 Bathing facilities for women and children generally consist of a clay or tin basin at home; the men and older boys bathe in the river. Many women bathe and wash their hair when they do their laundry in a stream or at the public washing place.

354 511 [513] No Tepoztecan house has any means of heating other than the kitchen fire. This, however, gives little heat and is extinguished as soon as cooking is completed, to save fuel. In the winter months the family generally retires earlier to keep warm, but since most families have a minimum number of blankets, there is probably some suffering during the night due to cold. Except for early morning, the days are warm all the year round.

There are various means of lighting the house after dark, the most common and inexpensive being candles. Some homes have kerosene lamps and a few of the houses and stores in the center have Coleman gasoline lamps. One Tepoztecan house—that of the prosperous curer, Don Chucho—has electricity which is operated by a privately owned generator. There is talk of installing electricity in the plaza and in the church and chapels near the center, and it is probably only a matter of time before this is done.

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177 352 511 Differences in house furnishings are even more striking than differences in house types, and there is an unending variety of combinations of new and old or modern and primitive household items. It is not at all unusual to find under one roof a battery-operated radio, a pre-Hispanic hearth as the only means of cooking, a hand mill for grinding coffee, and the Indian stone *metate* for grinding corn. Modern equipment for cooking, serving, sleeping, lighting, and so forth, is with few exceptions greatly esteemed; and in the majority of families only lack of money prevents its purchase. Among the youth, the more educated, and the large middle economic group, there is a strong desire to live better and to invest

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Masturbation is not tolerated at any age and is swiftly punished. Punishment consists of slapping the hands, beating, shaming, and frightening. One boy of five was severely beaten with a rope by his father without explanation because the latter saw the boy holding his penis. One woman threw stones at her eight-year-old daughter and called her names when she saw her examining her genitals while urinating. Children who show interest in their body are *vicious* or *malicious* and are called names, such as *cochino* (pig) and *puerco* (hog). Parents who fail to correct their children are called *imoral* or *indecente*. Careful parents keep their children off the streets for fear that they might learn masturbation from their friends. Although occasionally an incorrigible boy may be seen to masturbate surreptitiously, with his hands in his pockets, it is rare to see a child touching his genitals. If masturbation occurs it is secretive.

Between the ages of two and five, children are free to devote themselves entirely to play. Small children are limited, for the most part, to playing in the patio or corral. The only time they are seen in the streets is when they are accompanied by some older member of the family. (See Fig. 54.) They play alone or more usually

Fig. 54. Mother and child.

with brothers and sisters or cousins or perhaps neighbors, whose ages range from five to ten. Older children are required by the parents to play with their younger brothers or sisters, so that it is rare for the latter to be shut out of play. The older children are also expected to keep the younger ones contented and are responsible for their safety. As during infancy, a cry or complaint to the parents on the part of the youngest child usually brings scoldings or punishment down upon the older children. Small children frequently receive rough treatment during play, both intentionally and unintentionally, and are sometimes bribed by the older children